

the Senate substitute legislation to H.R. 3433. I look forward to passage of this legislation.

#### ADDRESSING READINESS ISSUES

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to proposed increases in military spending contained in the supplemental appropriations provisions for FY 1999, and to comment on even larger anticipated proposals for increases in the military budget for fiscal year 2000 and beyond that will be the subject of ongoing debate in Washington in the coming months.

I have always been a strong supporter of our men and women in uniform, and I believe we must provide the best possible training, equipment, and preparation for our military forces, so they can effectively carry out whatever peacekeeping, humanitarian, war-fighting, or other missions they are given. But certain Republican proponents of increased defense spending here in Washington are trying to use an alleged "readiness crisis" to get \$1 billion or more additional funding included in the omnibus appropriations bill to be considered before adjournment. And this is just the first step. Some Pentagon officials, and Republican defense hawks here in Congress, are reportedly already pressing the Administration to increase next year's budget request by up to \$15 billion, and by an estimated \$50-75 billion over the next five years. These numbers are in addition to the grossly wasteful and unnecessary military spending of recent years, much of which was over and above what the Pentagon itself had requested from Congress to complete its mission.

These large increases are unjustified. Yes, I recognize that to a certain extent there are problems with readiness. There are shortages of spare parts in some areas, for example. It is reportedly difficult to retain pilots and other key personnel; certain of our armed forces, especially enlisted personnel, are suffering a declining quality of life. But if we look carefully at the military budget we can see that these readiness problems are not caused by inadequate military budgets, but rather by a wasteful and irresponsible, often politically-motivated misallocation of existing defense dollars to military programs and projects in states of key members of Congress. This is the crux of the matter. There is more than sufficient funding in the current budget to fix these problems if priorities are reassessed and money is redirected from wasteful and obsolete weapons programs to crucial readiness measures.

We continue to pour billions into Cold War era weapons programs that are essentially massive pork projects for the states and districts of various members of Congress. Congress has also contributed to the readiness problems by refusing to close military bases which the Pentagon acknowledges are unneeded and obsolete, and

has pressed to have closed. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and his colleagues on the Joint Staff, testified to this recently before the Armed Services Committee—they effectively said if you want us to fix these problems, then stop ramming down our throats weapons systems, ships and planes that we don't need, don't want, and haven't requested—and start closing down antiquated or outdated military bases that we can no longer afford to maintain, for which there is no reasonable purpose.

Mr. President, as I've said, I believe in maintaining a strong national defense. We face a number of credible threats in the world today, including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But let's make sure we carefully identify the threats we face and tailor our defense spending to meet them. Let's not continue to maintain military spending based on the needs of the Cold War.

Mr. President, we do not need to spend more on the military. We only need to spend what we have already allocated more intelligently and more honestly. We do not need to give more money to an already bloated Pentagon for wasteful pork projects when we have so many urgent problems in this country that need attention. We need to focus on adequate funding for the hundreds of domestic programs that protect the vulnerable; protect our lakes and streams; provide health care for the vulnerable elderly; and create expanded opportunities for the broad middle class, such as student loans and job retraining.

The real "readiness" crisis, Mr. President, is not in the military budget but in the readiness of the Congress to give up its attachment to wasteful pork projects, and in the readiness of Pentagon officials to make the hard choices about what programs are really necessary for the restructured military force we need to face the challenges of the 21st century. I expect that an omnibus bill will pass, and that some additional defense spending will be included in it for Bosnia and other needs. But I hope my colleagues will keep these concerns in mind as the defense spending debate moves forward next year.

I intend to press forward my efforts here in the Senate to make sure we more responsibly balance our defense and domestic priorities, by scaling back wasteful defense spending, and re-allocating existing military funds to address our readiness problems, so that we can invest more in the skills and intellect and character of our children; in basic health care for all; in decent education, affordable housing and jobs that can sustain families.

#### RETIREMENT OF SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, in these last few days of the 105th Congress, when I come to the floor, I often

look wistfully to the aisle just to my left here, where DALE BUMPERS has trod up and down yanking the microphone cord and dispensing wisdom for just about twenty-four years now. The other day he gave his last speech here, and it was brilliant—an eloquent and moving reminder of the best purposes of politics. But now I want to look back and pay tribute to my friend DALE BUMPERS for what he has done and what he has been for me, for the Senate, for his beloved Arkansas and for our country.

DALE BUMPERS was born in Charleston, Arkansas in 1925, and it's from that little town he first drew the values he has eloquently proclaimed on this floor for two and a half decades. In a small town in western Arkansas during the Depression, young DALE BUMPERS learned about human suffering and deprivation, learned to believe that it could be defeated and came to understand, on his father's knee, that the government could be a force for good in that struggle. He saw typhoid in his hometown and saw a New Deal program put an end to it. He saw rural electrification light the countryside, projects that made the water cleaner, the roads safer, he saw the WPA and he saw the tenacity, and the ingenuity and the sense of community of the American people. One day as a boy he went to the nearby town of Booneville and saw Franklin Roosevelt himself, and he heard his father tell him that politics is an honorable profession—he took all that to heart and we are all the richer for it. He sometimes says, as his father did, "When we die, we're going to Franklin Roosevelt."

In 1943, DALE BUMPERS joined the Marines. He shipped out to the Pacific and he expected to be a part of the invasion force that would hit the beaches of Japan. He did not expect to survive it. The invasion never came, but that experience made a profound impression on him. When I hear him speak about the Constitution, our Founding Fathers and the flag on this floor it is plain how that wartime experience helped him comprehend the true stakes of the constitutional debate, how it informed his notions of patriotism and his sense of what America means. When he returned from the service he got a first-rate education at the University of Arkansas and Northwestern University Law School, all paid for, he is quick to point out, by Uncle Sam under the GI bill. He has been returning the favor to the American people ever since.

DALE BUMPERS started his career as a country lawyer in Charleston, a very successful one by all reports, and he got a reputation around Arkansas, even if he was, as he says, "the entire membership of the South Franklin County Bar Association." As time went by, his practice grew, he took over his father's hardware store, he taught Sunday School and sang in the church choir and he and his wonderful wife Betty started a family. But he wasn't feeling complacent.

There are a lot of great DALE BUMPERS stories many people don't know. In the days following the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, tension was building in the South as school integration looked more and more inevitable. By 1957, we had the Little Rock Crisis, but there was one town in Arkansas that had already integrated by then, without any great trouble. It was the first in the entire south. It was Charleston, Arkansas, where DALE BUMPERS was a young lawyer, representing the school board. He saw what was coming and he knew what was right. He did a little research and he found out how much the district was spending to bus its black students to Fort Smith. He made his case to the school board about the right course, working those numbers into the argument. The board then voted to do what he had advised them to do—integrate the schools. It was not long after that he helped to integrate his church—the pastor of the local black Methodist church approached the all white congregation of his Methodist church, seeking help to repair a leaky roof. Why spend all that money and have two churches, why not just join our two churches together, said DALE BUMPERS, and it was done. Those are two quiet little pieces of history that tell us plenty about the principles and the persuasive powers of DALE BUMPERS.

Well, after a while, school board politics were getting to him, so DALE decided he would like to be the Governor of Arkansas. So off he went, eighth out of eight in the early primary polls, to do battle with Orval Faubus and other established politicians. His critics said he had "nothing but a smile and a shoeshine." But then the people of Arkansas heard what he had to say. He beat everybody but Faubus in the primary, beat Faubus in the runoff and then he beat Winthrop Rockefeller. Arkansas had never seen a governor like DALE BUMPERS. He reformed everything from education to health care and gained the lasting affection of the people while doing it.

After four years as Governor, he decided he wanted to go to the Senate. All that stood in his way was J. William Fulbright, an institution in his own right. But BUMPERS won, and he came to the Senate. As we have seen, this chamber is the place where he always belonged.

When I came to the Senate, I had heard of Senator BUMPERS' intelligence, his quick wit, his impatience with wasteful spending, his vigorous defense of the environment and his role as a relentless guardian of our Constitution. When it comes to amending the Constitution, DALE BUMPERS always says, "I'm a founding member of the 'Wait Just a Minute' club." That is a great line, but it tells of a Senator who has risked defeat, has felt real contempt from those who disagree, all because he would not stand for the political use of the Constitution. He gave

a great speech once called "The Trivialization of the Constitution" in which he made the case that we must never casually fiddle with our Constitution for political gain or to deal with transitory policy issues. His work to defend the Constitution and inject sobriety into the constitutional debate, all by itself, qualifies him as a great patriot and senator. Let the record reflect that I too am a member of the "Wait Just a Minute" club.

DALE BUMPERS' leadership in cutting wasteful spending and his fiscal foresight are unsurpassed. In 1981, when Ronald Reagan was calling the shots in the budget debate, DALE BUMPERS was one of only three Senators to oppose Reagan's tax cuts and support the spending cuts. If their position had prevailed, the budget would have been balanced in 1984. That was fourteen years ago. Now there's a fiscal role model.

Senator BUMPERS went after what we now call "corporate welfare" years before the term was coined, and years before others were willing to focus on the problem of government waste. From the international space station to the 1872 Mining Law, Senator BUMPERS has been resolute in his pursuit of excesses in the federal budget. He has gone after sacred cows and hidden pork, and faced strong opposition from both sides of the aisle. But he has continued his work, tirelessly and often thanklessly, because he knows he is doing what is right for the American people. I have often felt great pride standing with DALE BUMPERS on an amendment, even when we knew we would lose, because when he made a stand, his allies knew they were doing the right thing.

His campaign against government waste is matched only by his efforts to protect the environment as Chairman and Ranking Member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Senator BUMPERS has been an outstanding leader on the committee, and has exhibited a conservation ethic unparalleled in the U.S. Senate. DALE BUMPERS was the first Senator to sound the alarm about the ozone layer and the danger of ozone-depleting gases, long before most of us had ever heard of them. And he always remembered his father's hardware store—there never was a more relentless defender of small business in the Senate.

I have been honored to work with him on a number of conservation efforts, including public land reform and nuclear energy issues, and I know the Senate will miss his leadership in that area. His work to reform the 1872 mining law is the issue where his environmental stewardship and his determination to cut wasteful spending have gone hand-in-hand. I have been proud to join him in this fight, because it's a crucially important one, an "outrage," as he calls it, that wouldn't be under scrutiny today if it weren't for the work of Senator BUMPERS. And I am confident, Senator BUMPERS, that your view will prevail on the mining law soon enough, because you are right and everybody knows you're right.

Everybody thinks of DALE BUMPERS first and foremost as an orator, a story teller, a raconteur and a dispenser of folk wisdom. He is common sense with a silver tongue and a sense of history. So let me finish my remarks with a tribute to his oratorical style. DALE BUMPERS often decried the idea that we could eliminate the deficit by cutting taxes and raising spending, he said "That reminds me of the combination taxidermist/veterinarian in my hometown. His slogan was 'Either way you get your dog back.'" When he saw a flaw in his opponent's argument he jumped on it like a duck on a junebug. He might declare, "His argument is as thin as spit on a rock!" Why is he such a masterful debater? Because he can explain the complex in a simple way, and expose the truth in uncomplicated language, without demagoguery or distortion. As he would say, "You gotta throw the corn where the hogs can get at it." He hated deficit spending, and when he saw a budget full of red ink, he said, "Well, you pass that and you'll create deficits big enough to choke a mule. That's just eating the seed corn!"

Being in this body, and having the honor of serving with DALE BUMPERS, has given me an invaluable chance to get to know a remarkable man, and to understand what his legacy in this body will mean for generations to come. The greatest thing he has taught me is not to fear the tough votes. Time and again, from the Panama Canal to the flag amendment, he has cast the hard votes. Time and again, he has gone home to Arkansas and made his case, explaining his votes to the people. He didn't always persuade them all, but he convinced them that his were votes of principle—and the people's confidence in his integrity has sustained him in the affection of even those Arkansans who disagreed.

DALE BUMPERS has plenty to be proud of, but he has always remembered who he is and where he came from. He mixed it up with the best of them during debate, but never with rancor. He is quick to point out the work of other Senators and his staff when things are accomplished. The other day he stood on this floor and thanked his grade school teacher, Miss Doll, for encouraging him more than sixty years ago! He never fails to credit all his success to his remarkable wife Betty, who has achieved so much in promoting peace and the health of children. He speaks always of his family as the wellspring of his values and the source of his priorities.

So now he leaves the Senate having enriched this country and this institution in a thousand ways. His wisdom and courage and his persistent voice will echo long into the future. To every member of the Senate, on both sides of the aisle, DALE BUMPERS is an admired friend and colleague. To those of us who share his principles and have learned from his leadership, he is nothing less than a hero. He is one of the

great ones—and you don't need to be all broke out in brilliance to know that. Thank you DALE BUMPERS and good luck! I yield the floor.

#### RETIREMENT OF SENATOR DIRK KEMPTHORNE

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, six years seems too short a time for a man of DIRK KEMPTHORNE's character to serve in the United States Senate. In the two years that I have been privileged to work with the Senator from Idaho, I have been impressed by both his considerable integrity and also his unwavering dedication to the citizens of Idaho and to his fellow countrymen. When I reflect upon Senator KEMPTHORNE's tenure in the Senate, I will remember the traits that made him such a successful legislator. I will especially remember the thoughtful approach the Senator used when addressing the pressing issues of the day. When Senator KEMPTHORNE chose a course of action, every Senator could be certain that his decisions were guided by careful deliberation, broad consultation, and sincere prayer. Now, Senator KEMPTHORNE has decided to return to his people of Idaho, offering to serve their interests closer to home. Selfishly, I and others will miss his quiet strength, his leadership in a pinch, his good judgment, and his deep faith. It has enriched all who have had the privilege of serving with him and, I must say, it has been a special source of strength to me. DIRK not only talks the talk, he walks the walk. His concern is for the least among us and his insights are superior. Whether he is in a small group meeting, a committee hearing, a leadership conference, a Bible study, or on the floor of the United States Senate, DIRK KEMPTHORNE always reveals himself to be a man of integrity. This is so because he is one solid whole. He does not compartmentalize. What you see is what you get, from the surface to the center.

DIRK has called us to higher things than mere public policy. He wants our government to make us better, not just richer and more powerful. His service in the Senate has been to that goal. He is both a humble servant of a higher calling, and an effective leader. We will miss that leadership and strength on issue after issue. We will miss even more his good example, his living proof that one can serve in public life and possess the richest qualities of a Christian gentleman. DIRK, we will miss you. You have made us better by your word, your manner, and your life. Our best wishes go with you. Godspeed DIRK KEMPTHORNE.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR WENDELL FORD

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, since taking my oath of office in January of 1963, I have had the high privilege of serving with 323 senators. Among them were some of the giants we read about

in history books, Richard Russell of Georgia, Everett Dirksen of Illinois, Mike Mansfield of Montana, and John Stennis of Mississippi.

I have served with men and women of great moral strength and high intellect, but, of the 323 senators, I shall always look upon one person as my "best friend"—Senator WENDELL FORD.

How does one become a best friend of a stranger? I had some knowledge of WENDELL before he was elected, because I was then a member of the Senate Campaign Committee and serving as the Secretary of the Democratic Caucus. I knew that he was a former State Senator, Lieutenant Governor, and the 49th Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky before he was elected to the Senate. I also knew that he was one of the most popular Presidents of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

When I first met WENDELL in early 1974, I immediately liked what I saw.

I could see that he was "truth in packaging" personified. There were no fancy frills, or bells, or ribbons around him. He was down to earth. He obviously loved his constituents and without question, understood them. Immediately, I concluded that he was a "man of the people." Soon, I found myself serving with him on two important Committees—the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation and the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Whenever he stood and raised his voice to defend, advocate, oppose, or support a measure, you knew that it related to people.

Therefore, I was not surprised when he became the prime mover of the National Voter Registration Act which would ensure that every American who was of age, qualified and wanted to vote was given the opportunity to do so. He took away all of the obstacles that stood in their path.

He also made certain that when a worker's spouse was ill at home, he or she was given the right to be with their loved ones in their time of great need. He knew what it was to be a husband and a father. And he knew what it meant to comfort wives and children in time of need. When WENDELL became the Chairman of the Aviation Subcommittee, first and foremost on his agenda was passenger safety.

He was always ready to carry the banner for the working man and woman. And during the recent tobacco legislation debates, WENDELL's voice was one of the very few that spoke out for the tobacco farmer. His concern was not for the wealthy Chief Executive Officers. His concern was for the poor farmer who had to struggle, day in and day out, to eke out a livelihood.

WENDELL also spoke out for the miners who worked in the deep coal mines, and for those who had been discriminated against in employment because of their age. He was a "work horse," never a "show horse." When others would give eloquent speeches on cut-

ting the cost of government, he did something about it. He led the movement to adopt a two-year budget, thereby saving millions of dollars by streamlining our budgetary process.

He introduced the measure that is responsible now for using recycled printing paper by the federal government, thus saving millions of dollars. After all, the paperwork of the federal government today, with all the technological advances, still uses more than 480,000 tons of paper annually. However, before WENDELL FORD got into the act, it was nearly double that amount.

As a politician, he wanted to make certain that campaigns were carried out without corruption and without impediments. He streamlined voter registration procedures, and did everything to increase voter participation in federal elections.

WENDELL FORD's departure from the Senate will leave a huge void in the committee rooms and in the Senate Chamber. It is difficult for me to imagine that next year we will not hear his voice rising to defend the working man and woman.

We will not hear his voice to insist upon safety for our traveling public. And we will not hear his voice for good and clean government. I hope that the people of Kentucky will someday come to the realization that they and the people of this nation were blessed with the service of WENDELL FORD.

Winston Churchill just prior to his retirement from active government service said, "Service to the community is the rent we pay for living on this earth." WENDELL FORD has been paying his rent throughout his life.

It will be difficult for me to say goodbye to my good friend. It will be difficult no matter how good a person his successor may be, to fill his "huge boots."

But most importantly, I agree with my wife, Maggie, that what makes WENDELL a good husband, a good father, and decent human being is the fact that he had the good sense to marry his beloved Jean. Without Jean, Kentucky and our nation would have been denied the great service of WENDELL H. FORD.

WENDELL and Jean, you have my best wishes for continued happiness and fulfillment in the bright years ahead. We shall miss you immensely.

#### RETIREMENT OF SENATORS

WENDELL FORD

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I want to take a moment to honor Senator WENDELL FORD for his long and distinguished record of service in the United States Senate.

A vigorous defender of his home state, WENDELL FORD's raspy voice has spoken out for the people of Kentucky and the entire nation with intelligence, tenacity and humor, winning him the respect and affection of his colleagues.